

The implementation of the SOB was also an initiative of the Army Chief of Staff, A.H. Nasution, which was later approved by Sukarno, considering the condition and situation of the country, which was becoming increasingly serious due to the emergence of the separatist movement. The transition to changes in civil-military relations first occurred during the transfer of power through Supersemar from President Soekarno to Suharto in the Old Order Era. The decision was taken in order to create order in the country, which at the time was experiencing instability due to the issue of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). What's more, at that time, the army was having the upper hand and getting high sympathy because a number of its officers died in the G30S.

When the highest office was under the control of President Suharto, he involved the military as the front line in maintaining the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. During the New Order era, the concept of ABRI's dual function was clearly applied. In addition, the military's political involvement can also be seen through its participation in the government structure.

Method

In this paper, we use the theory of civil-military relations according to Samuel Huntington, which is then used to analyze the involvement of the military in supporting Indonesian political decisions (Huntington, 2000). In this study, we used qualitative research methods.

Results and Discussions

History Of Abri's Dual-function

According to Prof. Dr. Salim Said, the first discourse by the Army Chief of

Staff General A.H. Nasution was through his speech that he delivered to President Soekarno on November 13, 1958, in commemoration of the anniversary of the National Military Academy (AMN), which was held in Magelang, Central Java, where in his speech he proposed the concept of "the Middle Way". In his speech, General Nasution explained the concept of the "Middle Way," which says that the military is not only a tool of the government and that the military is not a dominant regime. General Nasution wanted the remaining power within ABRI at that time to be used to assist the government in determining the direction of the country's development. He wanted the military to participate in improving the welfare of the country. However, General Nasution said that members of the military in Indonesia would not engage in practical politics so as not to be used as a political tool to seize power.

The idea became more mature during the Army II seminar, which was held in Bandung from August 26 to 31, 1966. The seminar also found an agreement that the military could be allowed to have social and political functions. The concept of the middle way opens the way and provides opportunities for the military, which has a limited role in the civilian government, to contribute to helping with social and political problems in the country.

The origin of the involvement of the military in politics and also the government is often related to the Law of 1957 concerning the State of War Emergency. This regulation can allow the military to have the right to issue regulations or orders relating to public order and security in the event of a state of

that the state cannot be run if it relies only on civilian expertise.

The military also uses dual function as a justification for increasing its influence in the Indonesian government, as well as the permanent position given to the military in parliament and at the top of the national public service.

Transition Of The Role Of The Military In Indonesia

During the Old Order era, the influence of the military was felt in the political process and in policy making. Whereas in the post-reform period, the role of the military was considered very central after the independence of 1945. After that, the military, or at that time, called ABRI (Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia), became one of the important components or elements in the Indonesian government. Meanwhile, civil-military relations at that time were going quite well, where the civilian side, led by Soekarno, had full control over the military, or ABRI. However, at that time, the civilians had doubts about forming an armed force, which at that time was still called PETA (Indonesian Defense Forces). As recently explained by Kahin (1952) and Salim (1991), civilians will be hesitant to form a national army and will twist the conversation about how to think about its shape. This doubt also went hand in hand with the suspicion of nationalist civilian groups against revolutionary youth armed groups because they were not only hesitant in the declaration of independence but were also suspected of organizing political parties for the national army at that time. This suspicion or reluctance also came from the civil-military relations section to make an

agreement between the civilians and the military in the early days of the revolution. According to Salim (1999), there are certain patterns that result in the relationship between civilians and the military, and all attempts to change them fail.

The attitude of the military in the early post-independence period in interpreting the struggle for Indonesian independence was to believe that ABRI was the ancestor of the State, because ABRI's involvement was so great in the struggle for Indonesian independence, especially against Dutch colonialism during the colonial period. Finer (1974) demonstrates that at the time, the sons of the earth instilled a tradition of loyalty to the nation and the state, rather than obedience to the rulers on that day or the next. This is also one of the soldiers' oaths taken by all members of ABRI itself, namely loyalty only to the nation, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. ABRI also considers that independence has been achieved by the army through armed struggle against colonialism. During the Dutch colonial period and the Japanese occupation after that, ABRI also considered the struggle not only against the colonial and Japanese troops, but also against the betrayal of the Indonesian communists and the weakness of civil nationalism, which led to various regional rebellions in several areas.

The momentum for the transition from the old order to the new order was marked by the outbreak of a rebellion by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) on September 30, 1965. Even before the rebellion by the PKI, Indonesia had begun to be led in an authoritarian military

According to Huntington (1957), in his book entitled "The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations," maintaining the strength of strong armed institutions will tend to reduce the occurrence of conflict or war by preventing (deterring) the armed forces of a potential enemy from attacking. Nevertheless, the slogan "TNI with the People" became a narrative of the doctrinal sociological closeness mentioned by Huntington, emphasizing the importance of close relations between the military and civilians. They are not a special class separated from society, so they need to be in good harmony with the thoughts and feelings of the civilians to which they belong. Therefore, TNI officers always emphasized that "TNI is close to civil society" (Huntington, 1957). This ultimately led to the formation of territorial institutions. Meanwhile, in relation to business and the military, Huntington also explained that the relationship is characterized by individual factors and does not involve institutions. This explains why TNI officers who will be affiliated with companies need to give up their active service as military for the sake of business, because within the framework of professionalism, it says that active military officers and military institutions should not be involved in business activities for the sake of the essence of military professionalism (Huntington, 1957).

In the aspect of military relations with the Department of Defense, Samuel P. Huntington (1957) also mentioned that there are three types of relationships between the President, ministers, and military leaders, namely: balanced, coordinated, and vertical. In a balanced

relationship, the president supervises a minister, and under the minister there is a hierarchy that is divided into military elements and administrative elements. In this relationship, it is necessary to separate military functions from administrative functions. In addition, the Minister takes care of administrative and non-military issues and is responsible to the President, while the military element represented by the military commander takes care of military issues that are directly under the President's control. This is a pattern of relations in the type of coordination. Then the type of vertical relationship, as applied to the law of the Republic of Indonesia, where the position of the President is the supreme commander, which causes a relationship between the President and the layers of the military hierarchy, while the Minister of Defense is given a position in the military chain of command as deputy supreme commander (Huntington, 1957). These three issues or factors (territorial institutions, business and military, and military relations with the Ministry of Defense) are supporting and fundamental aspects of the difference between the military's position in the New Order regime and military professionalism in the reform era.

Various civil efforts in Indonesia in making efforts to change the national defense policy after the collapse of the New Order regime found a bright spot by implementing changes in the form of a layering mechanism, where the mechanism operates under the intended institutional conditions and is identical in every democratization process or transition stage towards democracy in various parts of the world in general.

Meanwhile, "civil control over the military" (civilian control of the military) becomes the most important thing in studies of democratic transition studies because it explains how the process of changing from an authoritarian system to a democracy works. The reform of the TNI, which began with the collapse of the New Order in 1998, has become an integral part of every democratization agenda in Indonesia, with the support of a growing consensus that has made official policy makers and scholars support significant changes in the military through TNI reform (Gunawan, 2017). The concept of civilian control over the military is actually defined as the ability of the civilian elite in a country that is in the form of a democracy and runs the wheels of government and issues various policies without any form of intervention from military groups or groups (Aguero, 1995).

In the New Order regime, the military had portions in the civilian government and also took part in the political arena. So the concept of "dual functions of the Armed Forces" applied to the Indonesian government during the New Order era. However, this was certainly carried out as a form of military reform when it entered a period of democratic transition from the authoritarian New Order regime in Indonesia. The democratization process in Indonesia at the end of the New Order era required the idealism of a democratic state where the civilian position dominated the military (civil supremacy) in the five policy areas, namely the recruitment of political elites, the public policy-making sector, the national/domestic security sector, the national defense sector, and the

refinement of military organization at the stage of decision-making (Gunawan, 2017). This is a form of application of "Objective Civil Control" which has begun to be implemented in Indonesia, where, conceptually, this objective civilian control is a form of military-civilian relations where civilian supremacy is emphasized above the military, and the military focuses on its professionalism (maximizing professionalism of the military). They could not intervene in a predominantly civilian government, but they still had representation in parliament through the Minister of Defense/Council of Defense (Huntington, 1957) because of its achievements in defending the republic and political realism, which made the role of ABRI undeniable.

The Position of the Military in Post-New Order Regime

In the administration of President B. J. Habibie, he was able to restore military professionalism as a means of national defense. The military is separated from non-military functions, especially at political functions, and is separated from the work group, which makes the military its political machine. Early in his term of office, he reduced the number of ABRI seats with positions in parliament to 38 from 75. At the TNI Leadership Meeting held in April 2000, it was decided that the TNI's involvement in politics was abolished and that they had a duty in the field of national defense. And officially, on May 5, 1999, the positions of the TNI and Polri returned to their original positions so that the dual functions of ABRI were split.

This proves that the dual function of Abri in the government of President B.J.

Habibie began to be abolished as well as restore military professionalism. B. J. Habibie made the depoliticization of the military overseen by Wiranto even better during his short time in office.

Many changes were made under the government of President Abdurrahman Wahid. Gus Dur is the nickname of President Abdurrahman Wahid. He issued several new policies or supremacy in restoring the military's position in military functions. The issuance of Presidential Decree No. 89 of 2000 concerning the separation of the TNI and Polri, which was also stipulated by the MPR, namely TAP MPR No. V/MPR/2000 of 2000 regarding the Consolidation of National Unity and Unity. This was followed by the issuance of TAP MPR Decree No.VI/MPR/2000 and TAP MPR No.VII/MPR/2000. The TAP MPR No. VI/MPR/2000 contains the position of the Indonesian National Army and the Indonesian National Police, which is no longer the same, where the defense tool is the new role of the TNI and the state tool in maintaining state security is the role and function of the police. And TAP MPR No.VII/MPR/2000 regarding the role of the TNI and the police, as well as their involvement in the sustainability of state politics.

In Chapter I Article 2 Paragraph 1, it is explained that the state defense tool will be held and will become a new role for the TNI. Still in the same chapter, Article 5 which explains that the TNI is not allowed to be involved in politics, especially in a civilian position. TNI is required not to side with anyone, TNI involvement will be agreed upon if they relinquish their position in the TNI. In contrast to the TNI, the police are focused on maintaining

security in the state as described in Chapter II Article 6. Chapter II Article 10 discusses how the police are not allowed to be involved and take sides in practical politics.

TAP MPR No.VII/MPR/2000 describes in detail the roles of the TNI and the police, including their participation in politics. If members of the police and TNI want to register themselves in politics, they must first relinquish their positions. The next policy issued during the reign of Gus Dur was the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 38 of 2000, which contained the abolition of the Coordinating Agency for National Stability Monitoring Assistance (Bakortanas) and Special Research (Litsus). With this change in the civil-military relationship, there is also a change in the Ministry of Defense and Security (Menhankam), which was changed to the Ministry of Defense (Menhan). With this change, General Wiranto, who at that time served as Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs, was removed from his position, which was also felt by Wiranto's involvement in human rights violations that occurred in East Timor. Then, in the TNI leadership position, it underwent a rotation where not only the Army led but the Navy and Air Force were included in leading the TNI. When Gus Dur was in charge, he used his power to restore and reorganize the civil-military roles that could have an impact on the development of democracy at the time.

Megawati is the first and only woman to become president of Indonesia. During his reign, Megawati maintained good civil-military relations. At that time, the defense and security sectors received an increase in the budget given by

Megawati. Megawati also gave seats to senior officers in the civil service, where the Minister of Home Affairs was occupied by Hari Sabarno, and the Coordinating Minister for Social Security and Security was occupied by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. However, in order to limit the military's role in civilian affairs, the government passed a new law.

By ratifying the TNI draft bill, which was changed to Law Number 34 of 2004, which discusses the Indonesian National Army. Two years earlier, a law that discussed national defense was also issued, namely Law Number 3 of 2002. These two laws were made and set up to show that the state government is in charge of things like defense and security.

After becoming Coordinating Minister for Social and Communications during Megawati's reign, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, or SBY, succeeded Megawati and became the 5th president after winning the 2004 election. In his administration, SBY issued civil supremacy to maintain good civil-military relations by giving a mandate to Prof. Dr. Juwono Sudarsono, who was appointed as Minister of Defense. He was chosen because of his understanding of both civilian and military affairs, and he also played a role in neutralizing the TNI and procuring Alutsista from the Department of Defense, which was systematically published by him. SBY also exercised control over the military, where he purged and removed individuals who were also TNI from their nominations and positions in and outside of the government. In addition, SBY used his power as a citizen to help the TNI solve problems between the Free Aceh Movement and the government.

On January 25, 2007, the TNI introduced to the public the Tri Dharna eka Putra (TRIDEK), which contained three missions, namely land defense, work, and coaching, to replace the Catur Dharma Eka Karma (CADEK), which had four missions. During the SBY administration, the TNI also applied for the right to vote in general elections. However, this was rejected by SBY. He wanted the TNI to carry out military reforms seriously so that military professionalism would return in its entirety. This was done by SBY in view of the civil supremacy he established in which the TNI should not be tempted to interfere in politics. Therefore, the TNI Commander issued a policy in the form of TNI Commander Instruction Number: Ins/1/VIII/2008 concerning Guidelines for the Neutralization of the TNI in general elections and regional head elections.

The reform of the TNI went back to during the Jokowi period, when the welfare of soldiers was improved and the TNI Commander received a dimension rotation. In June 2015, the issuance of a government regulation regarding the salary regulation for TNI members, namely Government Regulation No. 31/2015, was also signed by Jokowi. Two years later, the cost of side dishes for members of the TNI and Polri In 2018, a performance allowance of 70% for all TNI and Polri was granted. The TNI is involved in Jokowi's realization of increasing defense capacity, namely that the need for defense equipment is met, general welfare is increased, and the defense budget is increased.

This capacity building is also intended so that in the East Asia Region,

the TNI can become a respected regional maritime power. There is a development direction set by Jokowi, namely the need for military defense equipment is met and continued, operational readiness for the TNI is increased, and TNI training facilities are improved. Jokowi also made approximately 133 agreements with the military to establish cooperation with various state institutions. In addition, the military is also involved in the construction of new roads in various regions, and the military is also involved in guarding the inflation rate. The involvement of the military in various aspects has created fears of the return of ABRI's dual function in the political system.

Conclusion

Broadly speaking, the military's position in politics depends on the opportunities the military has. The opportunity arose with the weakness of civil control. The pattern of civil-military relations is very dependent on how strong civilian control is.

In Indonesia, the role and position of the military have experienced a long-term dynamic. The concept of civil-military relations in Indonesia is still biased. However, what is certain is that the position of the military in Indonesia seems to have a distinctive identity compared to other countries due to the dual function of ABRI in the early days of the nation's independence. The dual function of ABRI comes with the opening of opportunities that occurred during the era of President Soekarno. This opportunity was marked by the loss of public confidence in the government's role in maintaining state order. This was then reinforced by the

ideas given by President Suharto in the next era. With a military background, the power that existed in the New Order era tended to be based on military interests. The amount of intervention that the military has in politics is greater than the proportion that should apply. Then it became a boomerang because civil liberties were taken away by military power. When the reform movement started in 1998, there was a lot of momentum for ABRI to stop having both a public and private role.

The 1998 reforms became a turning point for people's sovereignty and became the trigger point for the abolition of the dual-function concept of ABRI. The reshuffle of the military structure also occurred with the separation of powers within ABRI, which later became the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police. This was done in an effort to carry out the demands of the reform agenda. In essence, the military's position in politics is currently weak because of the strong civilian power. However, it is not impossible if, in practice, the rough concept of the dual function of the military is still carried out today. This must then be the concern and focus of civilians in order to keep an eye on the military's performance in order to strengthen civilians.

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